UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title
Theorizing Native Studies in the Northeast

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2pd141xr

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 33(4)

ISSN
0161-6463

Author
Welburn, Ron

Publication Date
2009-09-01

DOI
10.17953

Copyright Information
This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, availalbe at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Peer reviewed

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE AND RESEARCH JOURNAL 33:4 (2009) 69–89

Theorizing Native Studies in the Northeast

RON WELBURN

Academic programs that focus on the histories, cultures, and contemporary issues of the peoples indigenous to North America, whether they are called American Indian studies, Native American studies, First Nations studies, or, for some as program ideologies evolve, indigenous studies, are not new pursuits.[1] As Native studies continues to develop, administrators, faculties, staff, and students will face questions about theory and methodology and their practical applications. Perhaps inevitably, formulaic theorizing and concerns about methodology seem to evoke doctrinaire responses, compelling the discipline's thinkers to codify the principles in their programs' mission statements. Native studies has a continually growing body of critical literature recommending or implying how to theorize the discipline and develop methodological strategies. What this article will offer are ways to think about theory, method, and practice in Native studies from the perspective of the Certificate Program in Native American Indian Studies (CPNAIS) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (UMass Amherst), a large public institution in the Northeast that draws from a regional population of Native undergraduates in contrast to private institutions like the Ivy League and "Little Ivy" schools, whose students largely come from western federally recognized tribes and whose programs emphasize western Native histories. From this vantage, the discussion will contextualize aspects of the philosophical and pedagogical challenges shared in general with Native studies programs anywhere but that are germane to the UMass Amherst effort. To set up this discussion compels some reference to struggles going on in the older interdisciplinary field of American studies. Similarities regarding theorizing American studies as well as questions about its viability to Native studies offer a useful comparison that cannot be fully covered here. But the coincidental timing of the younger Native studies

Ron Welburn (Cherokee and Accomac Gingaskin descendant) is a professor of English and American studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (UMass Amherst). He chaired the Five College American Indian Studies Committee and in 1997 coestablished the UMass Certificate Program in Native American Studies, serving as its director until 2006. He has published many poems and is also the author of *Roanoke and Wampum: Topics in Native American Heritage and Literatures* (2001), cowinner of the Wordcraft Circle 2002 Award for Creative Prose, Nonfiction.

facing similar structural and epistemological challenges long affecting the older discipline is too ironical to ignore.

First, however, I ask reader indulgence for an anecdote that will help this discussion. During a lull in the Native American studies conference at Boise State University in 1998, a small group of attendees mulling over observations of the day by Vine Deloria Jr. (Lakota) and others were considering how to approach Native or First Nations studies. After a moment of thought, Patricia Angus (Onondaga) of the University of Saskatchewan proclaimed, "We need a theory of Native studies!" I recall my two immediate reactions. I maintain a skeptical respect for academic theorizing while sensing that those who deploy poststructuralist strategies tend to be preoccupied with the theory instead of the subject. That reaction had some of the "theory, theory, theory" vacillating between tones droll and laconic. I realized that a theory of some kind for Native studies made perfect sense for formulating ways to envision and develop what we otherwise debate in academic program terms. What would distinguish a theory of Native studies seems to be the question for which there are numerous inconclusive answers. Few Native scholars would disagree when Duane Champagne demands that Indians be "at the core of analysis" in historical study, and that a "purely colonial analysis of Indian-white relations is to a large extent an exercise in American studies." Indians, he proceeds to explain, always made choices to ensure their survival, adapting to changes as necessary.[2] From this I will extrapolate methodology and theory for the purposes of this article, at the center of which is the UMass Amherst program as part of the Five College consortium with Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges.

Inevitably, the emergence of ethnic studies and Native studies programs could meet the interdisciplinary field of American studies and expand the latter on many levels. American studies wrestles with its own identity crisis as a result of these intellectual and cultural challenges fueled in part by postcolonial theory and its global consumer, diaspora, and hybridity components. In a 2003 issue of *American Quarterly*, a mini-symposium with Philip Deloria (Lakota), Jean O'Brien (Ojibwe), and Robert Warrior (Osage) interrogated the role and place for Native American studies as part of the interdisciplinary character of American studies. Each resisted a categorical alignment, concurring that the long-established American Studies Association offered little to a formulating discipline seeking to assert and protect its unique cultural and intellectual integrity.[3] Against the backdrop of the older academic praxis, the search for a method and theory in Native studies finds some similarity with American studies. Native studies and American studies, in organizing their respective interdisciplinary and holistic objectives, and despite the fifty-year head start for the latter, currently share an epistemological trajectory characterized by efforts to develop theory and methodology. In 1968 Robert Merideth reprinted Richard Huber's then forward-looking "A Theory of American Studies" (1954), which offers approaches to course structures, in *American Studies: Essays on Theory and Method*; in 1957 *American Quarterly* published an essay hopeful of a field with myriad problems, "Can 'American Studies' Develop a Method?," by Henry Nash Smith, one of the field's key

figures whose *Virgin Land* provides an excellent obverse read for Native studies about American expansion. Lucy Maddox, author of *Removals*, a deconstructing study of nineteenth-century fiction in the context of Removal policies, included Smith's essay in *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline* with an updated response by Lawrence Buell. Accompanying this activity with Stephen Sumida's 2002 presidential address to the American Studies Association, "Where in the World Is American Studies?" we have in abundant clarity the continuing quest for methodological and theoretical formulation for American studies alone.[4] At an American studies symposium at Harvard in 1997, I observed Sumida (then of Michigan) draw a proposed structure for American studies that was inclusive of Native, ethnic, and regional concentrations without robotically assimilating them and that looked toward expanding the programmatic interactions American studies could make through a hemispheric engagement with the Americas. For the mini-symposium's writers, the caution about the viability of American studies and its national organization for the possible benefit of enriching Native studies seems to have been preempted by casual discussions in Native studies circles about hemispheric Native studies and the globally sensitive indigenous studies. Because the majority of Native studies programs in the United States are west of the Mississippi, in the big picture of Native studies, as with the historiography of Indians in America, program initiatives in the eastern United States assume a somewhat anomalous nature if they emphasize studying with Native populations in their respective regions. By their existence they bring visibility to Native communities often presumed extinct (except for the Iroquois and Cherokee); certainly, they have a place in Native studies ideology akin to the broad international arena and are in a position to aid in the rescue of elements in tribal histories forged during the era of slavery.

Slowly does the academy ponder, even distance itself from, structural pedagogical change. Yet with lightning speed it permits critical interpretative strategies to proliferate and captivate the professorial imagination, especially in some of the humanities and social sciences. Since the rise of interdisciplinary programs in the 1960s, theories emerged before theorizing their disciplines came about. Native faculty, keeping a reticently watchful distance from all this, now find themselves talking about theorizing a conjoined Native and indigenous studies. Perhaps faculty in Native studies (and American studies too) should privilege their methodologies, because tricksters can play academic fools with theory, leaving faculty looking in dark, tiny places and seeing nothing. Objectifying theory may have stultified theorizing, and it may be time to pay closer attention to the teaching and outreach components of Native studies.

Families and tribal communities instill values for teaching and compassion that can benefit students. Native academics talk casually about how to think about methodological formulations and non-Western modes of theorizing as a significant part of sustaining those values. Those Natives teaching Native content courses in eastern institutions still engage tribal, community, and family experiences; seek spiritual well-being from home and community; and try to make the academic experience less threatening for Native

students. However subconsciously they have mused about theory and Native studies, tolerating it with hesitation or rejecting outright the idea of theory as European intellectual baggage that would merely continue disfiguring Native cultural values, Native faculty have always theorized about Native studies since calling for the establishment of academic programs respectful of our histories, current lives, and future well-being. Along collective generational lines, Natives have theorized without calling it theorizing whenever they have thought about how to survive inside America. They have done so in the manner described by the late African American scholar Barbara Christian in her 1987 essay "The Race for Theory," applicable to more than simply her own community: "People of color have always theorized—but in forms quite different from the Western forms of abstract logic . . . I am inclined to say our theorizing . . . is often in narrative form, in the stories we create, in riddles, and proverbs, in the play of language, since dynamics rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking."[5] Thus, Native thinkers conceptualize Native methodologies through oral and material traditions that bring important perceptions to Native programs. For example, N. Scott Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko particularize their worldviews in the lands of their people; Paula Gunn Allen and Linda Hogan inform their literary and ecological ideas from woman-centered tribal positions; for Greg Sarris, Mabel McKay's basket designs narrate Pomo traditions; and William Apess in the nineteenth century used his conversion to Christianity with eastern Algonquian common sense to confront the Christian power elites who contradicted their own doctrinaire principles. Countless Native students who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s recall childhoods when their elders read to them from Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins* and *God Is Red*, and told them stories from their oral traditions. No matter how much we as their college-level teachers know and impart to them, we must acknowledge our debt to that degree of their preparedness that helps us to theorize Native studies.[6]

With insight drawn from years as director of the American Indian Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, Champagne keenly appreciates diversity of focus in Native studies programs when he says: "There will be as many empirical examples of different strategies and varying degrees of consensus as there are federally recognized and unrecognized American Indian communities. There may be patterns to the strategies of cultural and political organization . . . , but each case needs analysis for its unique community, government, and colonial and globalization experiences."[7] For several years, CPNAIS has pursued more effective collaborations between academicians and tribal communities in the larger region. Teaching and advising serve methodological underpinnings. Classroom pedagogy will undermine the success and effectiveness of Native studies courses when the instructional point of view *studies* Indians rather than giving Native knowledge a central role in setting the terms of course preparation and instruction. Professional and collegial issues are at stake when interest in course content and ethos appears like policing that course and its instructor. The academics of a generation ago who held the notion that surviving Native communities in the eastern United States were somehow not legitimately Native because of their mixed-race ancestries are

being succeeded by a cadre of younger scholars, especially in fields such as archaeology, ethnology, and history, who give respect to mixed-ancestry Indians and accept collaboration with their people for who they say they are if their research and teaching is going to be deemed culturally accountable by those communities. Thus, Native faculty and staff do welcome the contributions non-Native faculty offer to the spirit and objectives of Native studies.

Taking a cue from Jace Weaver's essay "More Light Than Heat," I propose a cluster of epistemological objectives, some already general to the field, toward illuminating theoretical foundations for Native and indigenous studies particular to the Northeast and in general to Native studies programs in eastern North America.[8] Perhaps these formulations will respond to Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's frustrations in 1997 that the then "new historicism" affecting Native scholarship "has functioned to excuse history rather than rewrite and deconstruct it."[9] Throughout the decade between Cook-Lynn and Weaver, authors Robert Warrior, Craig Womack, Daniel Heath Justice, and Cook-Lynn and Weaver have, among others, contributed essential works based in literary nationalism that can assist thinking about Native studies as the search for methods and theories for Native studies continues.[10] I propose the following objectives:

1. Develop Native program accountability to regional indigenous communities and legacies with or without institution support.
2. Work with institutional bureaucracies that affect theorizing the discipline.
3. Honor indigenous knowledge in the classroom by inviting indigenous representatives to participate in campus programs.
4. Collaborate with regional peoples and learn from their contemporary experiences and their histories.
5. Appreciate the dynamics of Natives' responses to colonial and republic-era power over tribal communities resulting from the African presence on regional Native survival.
6. Think hemispherically and globally about indigeneity.
7. Advocate repatriation and the integrity of burial sites and grave items. No more Indian bones and burial goods at the colleges!
8. Develop and expand collaborative outreach programs with Native communities.
9. Develop undergraduate and graduate courses on indigenous studies theory, research methodology, and pedagogy.

NATIVE KNOWLEDGE AND PROGRAM ACCOUNTABILITY

Although Natives from Massachusetts and regional tribes have pursued graduate degrees at UMass Amherst (with most graduating from the School of Education and the Department of Anthropology), these graduates have coincidentally found employment in nearby states. When factoring in Natives graduating with advanced degrees from the university system at large (this includes campuses at Dartmouth, Lowell, and Boston, and the medical school in Worcester), lacking is a critical mass of Native faculty from local tribes.

A comparable representation in professional and clerical staff positions, meanwhile, is slightly better. Natives largely from outside the region who are aware that they are "guests" in someone else's homelands have developed the academic and support programs at UMass Amherst; some interacted respectfully with Native communities in the region before joining the university.

Students at any institution in the Five College consortium can take courses at any other institution. As part of its mandate, CPNAIS established percentage-based course-content criteria for its curriculum that resulted in the program offering more than a dozen Native concentration courses at UMass. Before that, several Five College courses offered "ethnic" studies content that minimally included Native peoples. The UMass/Five College experience with Native studies percolated slowly: students and Josephine White Eagle (Ho-Chunk), an alumna and eventual faculty member at UMass Amherst's School of Education, knowing that Five Colleges hosted several curriculum committees and faculty seminars, pushed for the creation of the Five College American Indian Studies Curriculum Committee and Faculty Seminar and a cultural center at the university that students named in White Eagle's honor after her passing in 1989. In the early 1990s the committee reviewed the course offerings and jettisoned those that did not fulfill a criteria established at a minimum of 40 percent Native content. UMass Amherst established the certificate-granting CPNAIS in 1997 and the Five Colleges Native studies program in 2007 in order to better serve the colleges' students. Native student organizations (some including non-Native allies) had long existed on each campus, their memberships fluctuating according to enrollment patterns, and Mount Holyoke, Smith, and UMass have modest cultural centers or ersatz spaces.

In 1997, UMass Native alumna and staff personnel Aquila McCants (Creek) and Renée Lopes-Pocknett (Aquinnah Wampanoag) established Native American Student Services (NASS), effectively taking over the support responsibility from an increasingly insensitive older support program, the Coordinating Committee for the Education of Black and Other Minority Students (CCEBMS). Since 1981 UMass Amherst students have hosted an annual powwow, an event that energizes the Five College Native community as a whole and is attended by the students' families and tribal members, some of whom are vendors. A Native studies symposium now precedes this event. In addition, campus events at UMass involve the Native community at large: a welcome-back dinner in early September; a social in October; Nikkoma, a potluck social in the White Eagle Cultural Center at the close of the fall semester; and speakers invited under the auspices of Native student activities. Joyce Vincent (Cherokee/Blackfoot), hired in 1993 to coordinate the White Eagle Cultural Center, became associate director of NASS in 1999. In the mid-1990s, she spearheaded a series of needs-assessment meetings whereby guest Native program professionals addressed the Five College Committee. Subsequently, she twice coordinated forums so university administrators could learn directly from invited Native parents from southern New England what their expectations were for their children: effective and serious recruitment, well-being, retention, and graduation. By the mid-1990s, with Native

students wanting their concerns to be heard, stressing the issue of accountability to Native students and Native people especially in the region became a divisive topic. Some felt that the Five College Committee leadership was buckling to student concerns about well-being and retention, and feared the committee would become less "academic" and more "student services" oriented. The few who chose to leave did not benefit from learning about the persistence of northeastern Native peoples, some of whom visited a subsequent committee meeting because they heard positive things about what the committee was doing, nor did they perceive that Native studies needs Native students, and that they could also have helped us strengthen connections with tribal colleges.

Largely through Vincent's skillful advocacy and tireless dedication, we began to strengthen links among the faculty, staff, curriculum, support services, student organizations, and cultural centers on the five campuses as constituting a community, a macrocosm for the Native residence floor in a UMass Amherst dormitory gifted with the name Kanonhsésne ("Our Living Place") by a dedicated Kahnawake undergraduate. This sense of community, imperfect, occasionally isolated, distinguished both by periodic internal disputes and students attaining the dean's list—a "typical" Native community?—buttressed our collective faculty and staff interests to achieve effective curriculum and resource programs.

OF INSTITUTIONAL BUREAUCRACIES AND THEORIZING NATIVE STUDIES

As often experienced in academic institutions, Natives and other populations of color find administrative objectives opposing them. On a benign level administrators may assist in establishing programs, but there is never enough money to help them. At UMass Amherst, where CPNAIS is administered by the Department of Anthropology, the department's School of Social and Behavioral Sciences allots a small budget of $3,000 for certificate programs subject to the seemingly ever-present system fiscal cuts. During its existence, CPNAIS has been trying to grow while the university considers eliminating, or actually cuts, some of its resources and programs. Faculty retirements during the 1990s (with no replacement hires), especially two early retirements in 2002 (a third since then), affected five courses in the CPNAIS curriculum in anthropology, legal studies, and linguistics. Yet the deputy provost has long-assisted CPNAIS initiatives, and with the efforts of the dean of the graduate school (who assumed the position in 2007) a Native studies major and a graduate certificate in Native studies are conceivable realities. Through the commitment of Joel Martin, a former Rupert Costo Scholar and the dean of the UMass Amherst School of Humanities and Fine Arts since 2006, a new Native faculty joined the English department in fall 2009.

As that picture holds its own, the UMass Amherst Native constituency faces a less than positive attitude from the Office of Student Affairs, which coordinates undergraduate admissions, student support programs, and student organizations and cultural centers. During the 1980s and 1990s the

Office of Admissions tacitly supported Native graduate students and faculty interests at powwows in order to distribute admissions materials to prospective Native students and their parents. But as forces opposed to affirmative action evolved in California and Michigan, UMass Amherst admissions dug in by adopting a policy of not targeting "special interest" ethnic populations. This means that a recruiter could visit Mashpee High School (Mashpee being an incorporated Indian town) but not the Mashpee Wampanoag director of education in the tribe's community; also recruiters could not make special appeals to particular racial groups. The university registrar follows a practice of not identifying students by race but leaves the choice of support programs to students. Neither the registrar nor student affairs make a list of students available early enough for NASS to invite students to Native campus functions, forcing Vincent to try identifying new students when they come for summer programs or orientation or learn from parents directly. During the past decade, the attitude of student affairs administrators has gone from positive to hostile. For example, one administrator closed the White Eagle Cultural Center during the day, effectively preventing Native students from using its library and its several computers; they also refused to fund the UMass powwow in 2007 and 2008 for the first time since its inception. It is sad to note that African American administrators who coordinate programs run by student affairs, have become, as the new power brokers on campus, dismissive of Native constituents from Massachusetts and other eastern regions. They seem to view Indians as blacks who want to deny their blackness; the Afrocentricism rife in CCEBMS and displayed by some African American students during the 1990s led to the creation of NASS, following the departures from CCEBMS of the Latino and Asian/Asian American populations. Faculty and staff members at other eastern institutions offer similar reports. Yet all, including faculty and staff at UMass Amherst, prefer to take a positive attitude and work with administrators who respect Native constituencies and their program needs.

A Native studies program without Native students on campus is hard to imagine, but it has occurred. Colgate University developed a major in the early 1990s, but few Native students attended the school; and Vassar College has a minor but as of 2008 had just one Native faculty and no students. UMass Amherst is fortunate to have the academic, support, cultural center, and student organization components it deems essential for supporting a Native campus community. Theorizing Native studies could be a difficult venture for a campus without these components.

DECOLONIZED LEARNING THROUGH NATIVES IN THE CLASSROOM

Since 1996 UMass Amherst has been successful with the anthropology course Contemporary Issues in Native America: The Northeast, which is offered every spring and is mandatory for all students enrolled in CPNAIS. Funded by the provost's office, it features lectures by five visiting Native people from regional tribes who represent their communities, urban Indian centers, and themselves as musicians, authors, journalists, and tribal activists. The course's main objective lies in guiding students to listen to and learn from Native

people. Eastern Connecticut State University, West Virginia University, the University of West Florida, and UMass Boston have copied this format. The most significant affirmation this course offers is that while it encourages academic responsibility to include the wider continental and hemispheric Indian country, it underscores the need to recognize that there are enough contemporary and historical issues in the greater Northeast to occupy program attention.

The Native studies program at Trent University created a tenured elders program in order to acknowledge and privilege Native knowledge through an "open door" policy of elders from the local Iroquois and Ojibwe communities. Unlike most Native studies programs benefiting from the proximity of reservations or enclave Native communities, Amherst lacks organized tribal communities solidly rooted in west-central Massachusetts. An estimated four Nipmuc bands and eight Wampanoag bands abide in Massachusetts. The Narrangansett, Mohegan, Mashantucket (Western) and the Pawcatuck Eastern Pequots, Schaghticoke, and Golden Hill Paugussetts are southeast and south. The Montaukett, Shinnecock, Unkechaug, Matinecock, Setauket descendants, and (believe it or not) an enclave of Canarsie descendants in their original Brooklyn homelands constitute active indigenous Long Island peoples. In the north are Abenaki and Wabanaki communities, with many members living in Boston and active in the North American Indian Center of Boston. To the west in the Berkshires and the Hudson Valley are Mahican- and Wappinger-descended families, and Iroquois communities abide throughout upstate New York, Quebec, and Ontario. In the immediate Connecticut Valley live families who still acknowledge their Pocumtuck heritage in whispers; they survived by "hiding in plain sight" since colonial times in order to elude the eugenics programs of the twentieth century. Persons from some of these tribes have participated in the Contemporary Issues course. In many respects the distance between Amherst and those communities has not been a factor except for New England's famously inclement winters.

One CPNAIS spin on the Trent model is a successful annual Tribal Historian Residency program, funded by the provost's office. The residency program is designed to help tribes in Massachusetts and those whose histories included the land space and the colony by providing time to research and have access to pertinent documents. CPNAIS invites a regional tribal council to designate its historian, whom the program then invites to spend two weeks on campus in order to conduct research for whatever his or her tribe deems necessary, and CPNAIS provides that individual, housed in the Campus Center Hotel, with an expense account, library privileges, and a stipend. The historian is asked to visit one or two classes and deliver a public lecture in the Contemporary Issues course. Since 2003 CPNAIS has hosted Lawrence P. Dunmore III (Occaneechi Saponi), an attorney with experience in state- and federal-recognition law who was also researching eastern Siouan family migrations to New England; Jean Foggo Simon of Ohio, a principal researcher for Bermuda's St. David's Island Indians who found documents about Indian slaves transported to Bermuda in the UMass Amherst W. E. B. DuBois Library that are unavailable in Bermuda; Mike Markley (Seekonk Wampanoag);

Carole Palavra (Nipmuc Nation, which had its federal recognition removed in 2001 after three days); Patricia Mann Stoliby (Ramapo Lenape), whose community along the New Jersey/New York border was a refuge for members of southern New England tribes; Donna Roberts Moody (St. Francis Abenaki); and Linda Coombs (Aquinnah Wampanoag), who administers the Wampanoag Indigenous Program at Plimoth Plantation. This residency enhances tribal grassroots scholarship for historical, legal, and genealogical inquiry. It has provided its historians with unprecedented freedom to pursue matters of interest to their tribes, and it has helped them apply their own learning and their people's research methods as well as providing a model for decolonizing the strategies dealt with by faculty and students.

Today, despite the central Connecticut Valley lacking a viable indigenous community, CPNAIS and NASS encourage students to pay attention to the sociopolitical and cultural dynamics that have characterized the presumed disappearance of Indians throughout the eastern United States. Students also gain some pedagogical advantage regarding the colonial and American empowerments and legal processes that destroyed Native families, including the consciousness of being Pocumtuck in western Massachusetts. CPNAIS participants are guided by the principle that Native studies as an academic discipline should be altogether accountable to the living spirit of these northeastern Native communities.

DECODING HISTORIOGRAPHY FOR WELL-BEING TODAY

Eastern Native longevity of exposure to Europeans, especially to the French, English, and Dutch, and the depth of interaction mounting over a span of three hundred years with peoples and descendants from Africa, distinguishes our communities and makes the dynamics of cultural identity unique. Native people survived devastating sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pathogens and massacres, the hegemony of English Common Law affecting lands and disputes, conversions to Christianity, and schemes not just to detribalize but also to de-Indianize whole communities in order to dispossess them of their lands. Indians in Massachusetts and Virginia were the first to encounter the English seeking land to settle. The results since 1620 have been devastating. King Philip's War and the Great Swamp Massacre of the Narragansett during 1675 and 1676 resulted in many Indian captives being sent as slaves to the southern colonies, Bermuda, the West Indies, and Tangier. In colonial Massachusetts, government and church officials created a series of praying towns, essentially reservations, like the one at Natick, as locales for converting Indians. The legacy of these praying towns survives in Native memory. Hilary E. Wyss and Kristina Bross have brought to light writings in English by Indians attempting to use English literacy for their own and their people's advantage.[11] The Nipmuc's tiny three-plus-acre reservation in Grafton and the Aquinnah Reservation on the western end of Martha's Vineyard are the only two remaining in the Commonwealth; the oldest extant reservation in what became the United States, the quarter acre belonging to the Golden Hill Paugussett in Connecticut, was established in 1659. To say that this praying town and reservation history are unrelated

to today's struggles dismisses land-holding concerns by Native people and the fraudulent means, as in Connecticut, high-ranking state officials used to bring about the denial or loss of federal recognition for three state-recognized reservation communities there.

Recent ethnohistories about northeastern Native life and survival demonstrate greater sophistication because their authors show more respect for tribal knowledge. These scholars are deconstructing documents that have been subject to literal interpretations, and this assists in theorizing and developing methodologies for Native studies in Massachusetts. Prominent among them is an excellent collection of essays edited by Colin Calloway, *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, that includes Nipmuc scholar Thomas Doughton's "Unseen Neighbors: Native Americans of Central Massachusetts, A People Who Had 'Vanished.'" This chapter describes the process of nineteenth-century documentary racism. Narragansett ethnohistorian Ella Wilcox Sekatau's (in collaboration with Ruth Wallis Herndon) "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era" concentrates on how tribal members navigated the colonial system that reclassified them as African Americans. John Strong's *The Montaukett Indians* is an ethnohistory to the present about this tribe of expert whalers, which the state of New York proclaimed was not a tribe in 1911. Amy Den Ouden's *Beyond Conquest: Native Peoples and the Struggle for History in New England* is an engaging ethnohistory of eighteenth-century Indian persistence in Connecticut. Among the valuable information in Charles Brilvitch's *A History of the Golden Hill Paugusett Tribe* is his description of tribal members residing in Bridgeport, Connecticut, navigating their stay in a section of that city first called "Ethiope" and then "Liberia" before moving to nearby Trumball. It should be read with the tribal and family history of the Paugussetts by Chief Big Eagle (the late Aurelius Piper) as incorporated into Claude Clayton Smith's *Quarter Acre of Heartache*, a wrenching read. Daniel R. Mandell's *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880* brings together an array of these topics including the need to pay attention to church affiliation.[12] These scholars aid the less experienced by having probed probate and church records, vital statistics, federal and town censuses, and wills that Natives left to protect their family and communal interests. Encouraging the deployment of these methods in the classroom and for graduate students conveys the significance of how new epistemologies for interpreting history come about, especially when the ramifications of those histories continue to be felt. The substantial impact of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* on Natives and other researchers has, in all fairness, codified what many Natives have been casually discussing.[13] Abenaki scholars are playing an active role in decolonizing research methods. In the wake of issues in Massachusetts's response to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), Marge Bruchac's work on Central Connecticut Valley archaeology and history met head-on with local grave-remains issues; and Lisa Brooks's *The Common Pot* scrutinizes maps, literacy issues, and petitions to reclaim Native spaces in the Greater Northeast.[14]

Because New England tribes are ahistorically and historically Algonquian, a vast number of related languages continue to have speakers and students. The term *squaw* has been a lightning rod across the country as an affront to Native women. As protests against its use mounted, so did definitions for its usage. But in eastern Algonquin languages and for time out of mind, the term signifies "woman," and as recorded in its variants by seventeenth-century Europeans, it bears no pejorative associations. Outright condemnation of the word becomes a cultural property issue; on one hand it offends Native women when expressed mockingly in an English-language context, and place names containing the word should be renamed. On the other hand, when expressed in one of the eastern Algonquian languages, the person referred to is held in respect. No other cultural language group has a *sunksquaw* or squaw sachem, or *weroansqua* as would be expressed in the Powhatan language in Virginia. The Mohegan know Granny Squannit as the wife of Moshup, both culture heroes.[15]

Language revitalization becomes important here as the term's proper contextual usage becomes apparent. A Mashpee Wampanoag linguist, Jessie Little Doe Baird, instructs her people in regaining facility with Wampanoag and advises other regional Algonquians. Although she refrains from taking her work into academia, by example she inspires Natives in the colleges to recognize that tribal languages and terms are cultural property and much more than just interpretation of "colorful" place names. As today's young northeastern Natives learn their languages and how they are structured, they gain an appreciation for the beauty of what the language signifies that does not come across in the anglicization of the names of towns and streams.

One other avenue for academic interest is the eugenics movement in the 1920s upon Vermont Abenakis. Nancy L. Gallagher's *Breeding Better Vermonters* does not say enough about the Indian population, but it helps students understand how eugenics in Vermont is a handmaiden of sorts to the state legislature's preference to affirm that the state had no indigenous population before European arrival.[16]

NORTHEASTERN NATIVES AND BLACK/WHITE AMERICA

The orthodox historiography of Native Americans emphasizes life and survival in terms of Europeans. Eastern Native studies, from Massachusetts to the Southern states, should take the dynamics of African America's interaction with Indians more seriously. Colonists and the new Americans collapsed the identity of Indians into being *black by default*. A considerable amount of misunderstanding, disapprobation, insecurity, and distrust has ensued from this, and, through no real fault of blacks, Indians since the middle of the eighteenth century lost or stood to lose their cultural identities due to this association. A UMass Amherst course created in 2001, Native Americans and African Americans, examines this sometimes confusing relationship. The paradigm of Indians protecting black fugitives from slave hunters is an inconsistent southern phenomenon, and although there is truth in what Doughton discusses in Calloway about African Americans sheltering Indians

in Worcester, Massachusetts, African Americans have also had issues with Indians over identity. African Americans migrating into tribal communities eventually overwhelmed and affected the cultural integrity of those communities, a fact obscured by de facto segregation in rural and urban areas. The historical interaction of Indians with African Americans is a reality that should not be confused with the subject of "Black Indians," a term bandied about indiscriminately; virtually all of the books on this topic, like William Loren Katz's so-titled book and Angela Walton-Raji's *Black Indian Genealogy Research*, deal almost exclusively with the freedmen of the Five Civilized tribes and do not begin to address mixed-race Native realities.[17]

Certainly, tribes in southern New England intermixed with Europeans and Africans, yet simply stating that this process began nearly four hundred years ago overlooks endogamy in Native communities as mixed-race Indians continued to marry Indians whether mixed or not. Mixed race does not mean that Natives disappeared. To appreciate that some Indians may have voluntarily passed as Euro-Americans or as African Americans, or played the racial color-line to their advantage, is to begin to comprehend Native survival strategies especially in off-reservation communities. Tribal politics since the early 1700s in Connecticut regarding the matter of intermarriage with non-Indians, for instance, has varied among tribes. The decimation of eligible Indian males due to pre–twentieth-century wars influenced whom Native women of affected generations would marry. The late linguist Blair Rudes, perusing marriage selections among the Paugussetts, found racial reclassification of Indian to mulatto and black rampant in the nineteenth century. He also collected designations of color for William Sherman (1825–86), who became the principal focus for the denial of federal recognition for the Golden Hill Paugussetts because the Board of Acknowledgment read in a literal way the seventeen documents identifying him as copper, negro, white, mulatto, and colored but identifying him eight times as Indian; they knew nothing of documentary dynamics of this sort and refused to accept him for who his tribe's descendants and documents said he was.[18] This perfectly exemplifies how a government management-process practices documentary racism as it denies accepting community testimony. It defies a foundation for constructing and practicing Native studies methodology and theory.

The UMass Amherst program is not an institute for the study of "black Indians," nor would we practice genealogical research outside our academic needs. CPNAIS and Native studies theorizing must obviously distinguish people who are recognized as part of a Native community in documents that otherwise may be misleading. Simply put, researching African American documents in the eastern United States and Canada verifies Native Americans for those who know their search objectives, and relevant documents can help one ferret out Native individuals and the sense of community they made by virtue of their preferred friends, business associates, churches attended, and spouses. Deconstructing "black history" church and school records in Hartford or New Haven, for instance, will reveal Indians.

THE HEMISPHERE AND THE GLOBAL: A CHALLENGE FOR INDIGENOUS THEORY

The Amherst region has long experienced migrations back and forth to First Nations communities in Canada; today, there is an influx of Indians from Central and South America as restaurant and summer farm workers, and some attend events at the campuses. On perhaps a pedestrian level, 2004 marked the three hundredth anniversary of the Deerfield Raid. Several local Yankee families are intimately affected by its memory, and so are Native people in Vermont, New York State, and Quebec. Historic Deerfield nevertheless developed a remarkable exhibit, Web site, and reenactment to relate "the many stories" of this historic event by Indians and Yankees.[19] It proved to be an invaluable teaching experience characterized by a virtual truce in emotions. Otherwise, engaging western hemisphere indigenous conditions leads to expecting methodologies and theories for global indigeneity, which requires considerations of globalization, a contested term linked to postcolonial theory, in order to set apart the global consumerism that happens when anyone anywhere in the world can turn to American Indian Radio on Satellite (AIROS) to identify recordings to listen to or buy. If international indigenes can find out about Natives in North America by a button push, with the creation of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association in 2008 there is no turning back. Indigenous relatives are caught up in "illegal aliens" border issues, and too few Natives in el Norte know anything about the hemisphere's other Indian people socially, culturally, politically, economically, or academically outside those 1970s hot spots. Then when we consider learning another European language, such as Spanish, struggling to reclaim our tribal languages restrains us. Retirements at UMass Amherst have limited how CPNAIS can better engage these Indio-Latin countries; but Smith College offers a field study sojourn to meet indigenous agronomists in Peru.

Reconnections are taking place between peoples separated by slavery for two hundred or more years—witness the collective legacy of Native people in today's Bermuda, still a British colony, whose Native ancestors were slaves sent there from places throughout the Americas.[20] Bermuda's Indians conducting research are few and informal, and their legacy is at the mercy of curious non-Indian scholars who cannot faithfully theorize Native studies principles applicable to the people of this "other middle passage." Even their use of slave records and cultural survival would have no vested spiritual interest in this legacy of separation, let alone how this historical experience informs a methodology and theory for Native studies for programs in southern New England and elsewhere. No better opportunity for indigenous studies theory and method presents itself than for programs in this region to take control of their own research regarding all phases of regional Native histories and contemporary issues.

THEORY, METHODS, AND REPATRIATION ISSUES

The full details of interaction that the Pocumtuck of Deerfield and Greenfield, the Norwattuck/Nonotuck people who lived in Northampton and Hadley-Amherst, and easterly Nipmuc had with the English may never emerge, but their alleged disappearance in part is related to the eugenics issue. More insidiously, as Marge Bruchac points out, two nineteenth-century academics were "collecting Indians for the colleges," maintaining personal and institutional caches of thousands of skeletal remains and burial items. Her dissertation calls for the decolonizing of museums, academies, and gravesites, and for deconstructing the nineteenth-century images of "Indian disappearance" that prevailed so widely throughout the Northeast despite obituaries identifying that "the last of her or his tribe" had living children.[21] Strenuous advocacy to attempt the nearly impossible task of identifying these remains is a daunting part of the accountability factor that UMass Amherst Native studies tries to honor, for repatriation involves collaborating with tribal communities. Repatriation is a means of unlocking the past so that the spiritual lives of those whose remains and implements are housed can be complete. Despite being at times a virtual snake pit, NAGPRA issues do involve Indians today whose lives are the inheritance of handed-down cautions about exposing their pride as Native people.

OUTREACH AS A METHODOLOGY COMPONENT

Upon its inception, and because its steering committee members had already forged friendships and positive relationships with Native communities and Native program entities outside academia, a general mention of outreach initiatives was easy to include in the CPNAIS mission statement. The objective was to offer students enrolled in the program off-campus winter- or spring-break opportunities to learn from Native people or otherwise learn something at Native-related institutions in the region and, through prearrangement with CPNAIS advising, receive academic credit for doing so once they completed the venture and a critical project about their experience. So far this component of CPNAIS has been modestly successful. Individual students worked at Plimoth Plantation, for the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe, and in an Alaskan fishing village. Larger-scale experiences had a group of students spending spring break at Plimoth Plantation; in the Occaneechi Saponi community in Hillsborough, North Carolina; and on the Cherokee Reservation, helping to repair dwellings damaged by storms and assisting the communities where needed. Untested locations contacted early in the program include the Ndakinna Education Center near Saratoga Springs, New York; the Institute for American Indian Studies in Washington Depot, Connecticut; Historic Deerfield; and the Mashantucket Pequot Museum with its library and research center (yet, a few CPNAIS alumni worked at some of these sites after graduation).

With the establishment at UMass Boston of the Native American Institute, the brainchild of the late Mashpee Wampanoag leader Maurice Foxx, who was commissioner for Massachusetts Indian Affairs, his sister Anne Foxx,

and anthropology associate professor Amy Den Ouden, Native programs throughout the Commonwealth will become a more vital force for tribal community development. Details for how this entity will function are nascent, but collaboration between the public institutions in the Commonwealth is a priority. Outreach potential involving the other UMass campuses and Massachusetts state colleges as well as private institutions is foreseeable. Through its Extension Public Issues program the Amherst campus, the flagship of the system, retains the agricultural component that was its principal offering but is now realized in terms of natural resource-based economic development. UMass Amherst can thus assist tribal communities with nonindustrial biodiversity, plant and soil matters, and other natural-resource business matters. On large and small scales, and now that there are two federally recognized tribes in the Commonwealth and others besides the Nipmuc Nation recognized by the state, myriad outreach possibilities can be effected.[22]

A SELECTION OF MAJOR TEXTS FOR NATIVE STUDIES THEORY AND METHODS

The UMass undergraduate and the potential graduate program in Native studies has to strengthen its foundations in the pedagogy and practice of methodology and theory. This includes the current course Introduction to Native American Indian Studies and, at this time, developing course objectives for a graduate certificate program. Key primary texts in book form can be grouped categorically.

Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* is certainly of value for theory and methodology. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* by Shawn Wilson uses the paradigm of a journey and its stories as instructions for developing and shaping epistemological methods. The contributors to *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, edited by Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, offer useful hands-on suggestions for maintaining intellectual sovereignty and balance in the often-hostile environments of higher learning. *Native American Studies in Higher Education*, edited by Duane Champagne and Jay Stauss, is an important critical study of Native studies at selected institutions. Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie's *Native American Studies* covers topics such as sovereignty, literature and aesthetics, land, and language, and contains poetically relevant reproductions of paintings and photographs by Native expressionists. Donald L. Fixico's *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*, drawing upon its author's Muscogee and Seminole heritage, fashions a worldview rooted in the sovereignty of Native intellectual traditions; Vine Deloria Jr. and Daniel Wildcat trade chapters in *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* by evaluating the problematical nature of American education sometimes with tongue-in-cheek irony. In *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, Gregory Cajete relies on his Tewa culture for spiritual strength for the roles the environment and the mythic have in tribal community learning; the Pawnee and Otoe perspectives Anna Lee Walters brings to *Talking Indian: Reflections on Survival Writing*

build aesthetics around the narrating of worldviews through family history, story, and photographs; and a valuable recent publication is *The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard*, by Charles E. Trimble (Lakota), Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, a much-needed and thorough guide for tribal communities and Native programs that wish to interview their constituents.

Pertinent to Massachusetts, pedagogical texts might be grouped according to archaeology, Native autohistories, the century of early contact, Native survivals from Queen Anne's War to 1900, and Native life since 1900. An incomplete list could include the following readings. For archaeology, see Howard S. Russell's *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, and, because the eastern Long Island, New York, peoples are cultural kindred to peoples of southern New England, see *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, a near-exhaustive collection of historical documents and later-day articles edited by Gaynell Stone. Frederick Matthew Wiseman (Abenaki) has written *The Voice of the Dawn: An Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation*; and although Georges E. Sioui's *For an Amerindian Autohistory* is about his Huron people, its value, like *The Voice of the Dawn*, exemplifies how a Native historian writes one's tribal history. For early contact and throughout the seventeenth century, Neal Salisbury's *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* and Kathleen Bragdon's *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* both serve as history companions to *Indian New England before the Mayflower*; Alfred A. Cave's *The Pequot War* is one of the better discussions of the Pequot massacre; Jill Lefore's *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* situates Native resistance in the struggle for English control of all of New England; and *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1677–1677*, edited by Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom and containing Mary Rowlandson and Increase Mather texts, is a compendium worth reading of the triumph of Christianity over "savagery." Dennis A. Connole's *The Indians of the Nipmuck Country in Southern New England, 1630–1750: An Historical Geography* is valuable for its several maps of Indian territories in central Massachusetts, and Patrick Frazier's *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* surveys the people whose lands stretched from the Berkshires to the Hudson Valley. Previously mentioned studies by Calloway, Den Ouden, Brilvitch, Brooks, and Mandell would be in this component, as should Mandell's *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts.*

Extremely valuable for its photographs and other illustrations is *The Wampanoags of Mashpee*, a social and cultural history by the late former president of its tribal council, Russell M. Peters. Jack Campisi's *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial* presents an ethnohistory centered on the caprices of Massachusetts courts regarding whether or not the tribe (who had historically met the Pilgrims) was a tribe. Of regional relevance is John Menta's *The Quinnipiac: Cultural Conflict in Southern New England* and Strong's aforementioned study of the Montaukett that bridges four centuries.

One can find theorizing value in Marilou Awiakta's *Selu: Seeking the Corn Mother's Wisdom* and Cherokee author Robert J. Conley's novel *Mountain Windsong: A Novel of the Trail of Tears*, with the grandfather relating the story

of Removal while instructing his grandson in cultural practices. *Roanoke and Wampum: Topics in Native American Heritage and Literatures* examines subjects like nineteenth-century Natives making oral history methodology and holds postcolonial theory up to scrutiny. In "little books" like *Sweetgrass: Lives of Contemporary Native Women of the Northeast*, the late Mildred Noble (Ojibwe) wrote of her experiences as an urban Indian in Boston and the experiences of five other women (Mi'kmaq, Mohawk, and Aquinnah Wampanoag) whose lives moved between their homelands and urban centers, and *Anoqcou: Ceremony Is Life Itself* by gkisedtanamoogk (Mashpee Wampanoag) and Frances Hancock, a deeply spiritual presentation that can be compared to Charles Eastman's *The Soul of the Indian.*[23] This list is by no means exhaustive, but the readings have pedagogical and theory-oriented value from which methodologies for Native and indigenous studies can grow in Massachusetts.

Many of the points above have been tested at UMass Amherst with encouraging and challenging results. Theories and methodologies must be poised to respond and contribute to guiding the UMass programs. Because the application of theory and not theory as an end to itself is paramount, the outlook is positive.

NOTES

1. Except where actual programs bear the terms *American Indian* or *First Nations*, I will use *Native American studies* or *Native studies*; I will, however, deploy the term *indigenous studies* when I feel this broader hemispheric and global context should be connoted or implied. With the creation in 2008 of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association I feel allegiance to and justification for using *indigenous* occasionally. I will use *studies* with the lowercase "s" unless referring to an established academic entity. Also, I wish to thank the referees for recommendations about the manuscript.

2. Duane Champagne, "In Search of Theory and Method in American Indian Studies," *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 360.

3. Philip Deloria, "American Indians, American Studies, and the ASA," *American Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2003): 669–80; Jean O'Brien, "Why Here? Scholarly Locations for American Indian Studies," op. cit., 689–96; Robert Warrior, "A Room of One's Own at the ASA," op. cit., 681–87. In spite of this, Deloria began his one-year tenure as president of the American Studies Association in 2008.

4. Richard Huber, "A Theory of American Studies," in *American Studies: Essays on Theory and Method*, ed. Robert Merideth (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Publishing, 1968), 3–13; Henry Nash Smith, "Can 'American Studies' Develop a Method?," in *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline*, ed. Lucy Maddox (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1–12; Stephen Sumida, "Where in the World Is American Studies?" *American Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2003): 333–52.

5. Barbara Christian, "A Race for Theory," *Cultural Critique* 6 (1987): 51–63.

6. See N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Leslie Marmon Silko, *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit: Essays on Native American Life Today* (New York: Touchstone, 1996); Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovery the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston:

Beacon Press, 1986); Linda Hogan, *Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Natural World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995); Greg Sarris, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Barry O'Connell, ed., *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992); Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); *God Is Red* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973).

7. Champagne, "In Search of Theory and Method," 363.

8. Jace Weaver, "More Heat Than Light," *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2007): 233–55.

9. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, "Who Stole Native American Studies?" *Wicazō Śa Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 19.

10. See Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Jace Weaver, *Other Words: American Indian Literature, Law, and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Jace Weaver, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *New Indians, Old Wars* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

11. See Hilary Wyss, *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss, eds., *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006); Bernd C. Peyer, *The Tutored Mind: Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

12. Colin G. Calloway, ed., *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997); John Strong, *The Montaukett Indians* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001); Amy Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest: Native Peoples and the Struggle for History in New England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Charles Brilvitch, *A History of the Golden Hill Paugusett Tribe* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2007); Claude Clayton Smith, *Quarter Acre of Heartache* (Blacksburg, VA: Pocahontas Press, 1985); Daniel R. Mandell's *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

13. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

14. Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

15. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643; repr., Providence: Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Centenary Committee, Inc., 1936 and Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1997), 141, is the earliest attempt at a full lexicon of an indigenous New England language; for Virginia Powhatan see also Helen Rountree, *Pocahantas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia*

Through Four Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 8; Melissa Jane Fawcett, *The Lasting of the Mohegans* (Uncasville, CT: The Mohegan Tribe, 1995), 48–50, refers to Granny Squannit.

16. Nancy L. Gallagher, *Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999).

17. William Loren Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden History* (New York: Atheneum, 1986); Angela Y. Walton-Raji, *Black Indian Genealogy Research* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993).

18. Blair Rudes, "The Complexities of Racial and Tribal Identity," "Exhibit 1. Approximate Percentage of Paugussett Marital Unions by Spousal Race," and "Exhibit 2. Racial Identity of William Sherman" (adapted from Joslyn, 1997: Table 1), Handout: 21 October 1999, from Rudes's personal teaching file. See Roger Joslyn, "Report of Roger Joslyn, CG, FASG to the Interior Board of Indian Appeals." Submitted to the Interior Board of Indian Appeals in Re: Final Determination against Recognition of the Golden Tribe of the Paugusett Nation (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1997).

19. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney's *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003) appeared in advance of this tricentenary acknowledgment.

20. See the series of articles written for the *Cape Cod Times* by Paula Peters (Wampanoag) after the first Reconnection of 2002, the first of which is "The Path to Reconnection Marked by Gaps, Mysteries," 13 July 2002, archive.capecodonline.com/special/tribeslink/thepath13.htm (accessed 20 July 2002).

21. See Marge Bruchac, "Collecting Indians for the Colleges: Historical Erasure and Cultural Recovery in the Connecticut River Valley" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2007).

22. The author thanks Cedric Woods (Lumbee), Interim Director of the Native American Institute, for sharing preliminary ideas about the UMass Extension and local tribes.

23. Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2008); Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, eds., *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 2004); Duane Champagne and Jay Stauss, eds., *Native American Studies in Higher Education* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002); Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, eds., *Native American Studies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Vine Deloria Jr. and Daniel Wildcat, *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources, 2001); Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (Durango, CO: Kivakí Press, 1994); Anna Lee Walters, *Talking Indian: Reflections on Survival Writing* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1992); Charles E. Trimble, Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008); Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980); Gaynell Stone, ed., *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory, vol. 3 (Stony Brook, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1993); Frederick

Matthew Wiseman, *The Voice of the Dawn: An Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001); Georges E. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory* (Montreal, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992); Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Jill Lefore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage, 1999); Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom, eds., *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1677–1677* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1978); Dennis A. Connole, *The Indians of the Nipmuck Country in Southern New England, 1630–1750: An Historical Geography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007); Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Russell M. Peters, *The Wampanoags of Mashpee* (no publication details available; published circa 1984); Jack Campisi, *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991); John Menta, *The Quinnipiac: Cultural Conflict in Southern New England*, Publications in Anthropology, no. 86 (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2003); Marilou Awiakta, *Selu: Seeking the Corn Mother's Wisdom* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources, 1994); Robert J. Conley, *Mountain Windsong, A Novel of the Trail of Tears* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Ron Welburn, *Roanoke and Wampum: Topics in Native American Heritage and Literatures* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); Mildred Noble, *Sweetgrass: Lives of Contemporary Native Women of the Northeast* (Boston: C. J. Mills, 1997); gkisedtanamoogk and Frances Hancock, *Anoqcou: Ceremony Is Life Itself* (Portland, ME: Astarte Shell Press, 1993; the first author writes his name with all lowercase letters); Charles Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation* (1911; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).